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FRANCIS A. SAMPESON.

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THE VALUE AND THE SALE OF THE MISSOURI SLAVE.

No problem concerning the slave is more difficult to handle than the value of this form of property. The selling price of individual negroes, and of lots of them, can be found in the county records and in the newspapers. But to generalize on these figures for any particular period, or to compare values in different periods, would be most misleading. For example, if a male slave twenty years of age sold for \$500 in 1820, and another of the same age sold for \$1,400 in 1860 we learn little. The negro in the first instance may have been less healthy, less tractable, and less intelligent than the other. Therefore the \$900 difference could not fairly represent the general rise in prices nor the increased value of slave labor. To illustrate this point concretely—two slaves were sold in Ray county in 1854, both were twenty-six years of age, yet one brought \$1,295 and the other but \$670.¹ This shows how unsafe it is to compare specific sales.

However, by comparing the prices brought by a lot of negroes about the same age and in the same locality we gain an approximately sound conclusion. In general it can be said that a gradual rise in slave values is apparent up to the Civil War. It was exceptional indeed when a negro brought over

1. Notice of the sale of the slaves of the Estate of Thomas Reeves (Richmond Weekly Mirror, Jan. 5, 1855).

\$500 before 1830,² a prime male servant from eighteen to thirty-five years of age was in this early period worth from \$450 to \$500, and the women about a fourth less.³ When Auguste Chouteau's negroes were appraised in 1829, the eleven men among them who were between the ages of sixteen and thirty-five averaged \$486.35 each, the highest being worth \$500 and the lowest \$300. The eleven women between the ages of sixteen and thirty-nine averaged \$316.35, the highest valuation being \$350 and the lowest \$130.⁴

From the third decade of the century on there is an increase in values. Men brought considerably more by the late thirties.

2. The following representative examples of slave values for the Territorial period are taken from the St. Louis Probate Records. In the will of the Widow Quenel of March, 1805, we find four slaves listed and valued as follows: Two women at 376 and 641 "piastres", respectively; Sophie, age 13, at 900 piastres; Alexander, age 5, at 300; and a cow at 10 piastres. If the latter was a normal animal we get some idea of the comparative value of the negroes (MS. Probate Records, St. Louis county, Estate No. 7). Joseph Robidoux's estate was probated in August, 1810. His slaves were listed as follows: Felecite, with child at breast, 200 piastres; her daughter of 8 years at 150, a girl of 6 at 125, and "Une autre petite Negrette," 100 piastres, (*ibid*, Estate No. 50). In 1817 the following values were attached to slaves in Cape Girardeau county: Two men, \$900; a woman and two children, \$800; a woman and child, \$550; a woman, \$350, and five men at \$2700 (MS. Probate Records, Cape Girardeau county, Appraisement of the Estate of Elijah Betty, Filed June 2, 1817, Estate No. 628). H. R. Schoolcraft, writing in 1820 or 1821, stated that a good slave sold for \$600 in Missouri (*Travels in the Central Portion of the Mississippi Valley* (New York 1825), p. 232).

3. In 1830 the following values were given in St. Louis: Charles, age 32, \$450; Anthony, age 30, \$400; Antrim, age 24, \$450; Allen, age 24, \$500 (Estate of John C. Sullivan, MS. Probate Records, St. Louis County, Estate No. 882, Appraisement filed Oct. 9, 1830). By comparing the appraisements and sale bills it was found that they correspond very closely, in some cases negroes selling for more than the appraisal and in some for less. In Pike county in 1835 a negress aged 22 and her three children, aged four years, three years and three months respectively, sold for \$650 (MS. Receipt of sale dated May 2, 1835, Dougherty Papers, Missouri Historical Society).

4. MS. Copy of appraisement dated May 11, 1829, Missouri Historical Society.

In 1838 prime hands were bringing from \$600 to \$900 in St. Louis.⁵

Up to 1840 female slaves were worth from \$300 to \$350 when men were bringing from \$500 to \$600. Children from two to five years of age were sold for from \$100 to \$200. In 1838 W. H. Ashley's women and children were valued as follows in St. Louis: Berril (boy), age 12, \$350; Celia, age 9, \$250; Lucy, age 9, \$250; Catherine, age 7, \$200; Betsy, age 30 and her infant son, \$500.⁶

For the golden age of slave values we must turn to the fifties. The prime male slave of Missouri in 1860 was worth around \$1,300 and the negresses about \$1,000. The fabled \$2000 negro is more often found in story than in record. "Uncle" Eph Sanders of Platte City, still a very active and intelligent negro, claims that his master refused \$2000 for him in 1859 when he was twenty-three.⁷ But contemporaries put the normal limit at about \$1500. Mr. Paxton says that stout, hemp-breaking negroes "sold readily for from \$1200 to \$1400" in the heyday of Platte county hemp culture.⁸ Dr. John Doy claims

5. In this year the estate of Thomas Withington received \$800 each for two men, aged 22 and 25, and \$600 each for one 16 and one 23, (MS. Probate Records, St. Louis County, Estate No. 1374, bill of sale dated June 14, 1838). This same year a man of 21 was rated at \$650, and one of 35 at \$900 (ibid, Estate of W. H. Ashley, Estate No. 1377, Inventory and appraisement, filed June 20, 1838). In 1844, in Saline county good hands brought around the same figures. Thomas Smith's blacks were valued as follows: \$500 each for three men, \$550 each for two others, and another for \$600 (MS. Probate Records, Saline county, Box No. 248, Inventory and Appraisement, filed Nov. 11, 1844).

6. MS. Probate Records, St. Louis County, Estate No. 1377, Inventory and Appraisement, filed June 20, 1838.

7. Mr. Hunter B. Jenkins of St. Louis claims that a good sound black brought from \$1500 to \$2000 in the late fifties.

8. William M. Paxton, *Annals of Platte County, Missouri* (Kansas City, 1897), p. 37). G. B. Merrick says that while on the Mississippi as a boatman in the late fifties a male slave sold for from \$800 to \$1500, (*Old Times on the Upper Mississippi, 1854-1863* (Cleveland, 1909), p. 64). At the Lexington Pro-Slavery Convention of 1855, President James Shannon of the State University declared that the average Missouri slave was worth \$600, and that field hands "will now readily sell for \$1200" (Pro-

that a slave sold in Weston in the late fifties for \$1800.⁹

If the above figures are exceptional we nevertheless have plenty of evidence that negroes were very valuable in these years. In 1854, the slaves of Thomas Reeves were sold in Richmond for fine prices. The ages and price of these negroes were as follows:¹⁰

Man,	age 23, price \$1440.
Man,	age 26, price 1295.
Man,	age 23, price 1249.
Man,	age 40, price 1115.
Man,	age 31, price 911.
Man,	age 33, price 904.
Man,	age 26, price 670.
Man,	age 58, price 115.
Boy,	age 13, price 851.
Boy,	age 14, price 825.
Boy,	age 11, price 795.
Boy,	age 13, price 775.
Woman,	age 49, price 510.
Girl,	age 12, price 942.

ceedings and Resolutions of the Pro-Slavery Convention, held at Lexington, July 13 to 15, 1855 (St. Louis, Republican Office, 1855), p. 7).

9. Narrative of John Doy of Lawrence, Kansas (New York, 1860), p. 59.

10. Richmond Weekly Mirror, Jan. 5, 1855. \$1000 to \$1200 seems to have been the common figure for good men in the late fifties. In 1858 in Boone county, four men were valued at \$1200 each, one at \$1100, and another at \$1000. Two women were rated at \$900 each (MS. Probate Records, Boone County, Inventories, Appraisements and Sales, Book B, p. 87-8, filed Dec. 30, 1858). The following year in Greene county two men were valued at \$1100 each (Estate of Jonathan Carthel, MS. Probate Records, Greene County, Inventories and Appraisements, Book A, p. 31, filed Aug. 4, 1859). In 1860 in the same county a man was listed at \$1200 (Estate of Jacob Rodenamer, *ibid.*, p. 160, filed May 18, 1860). The same year a woman was sold for \$1100, and two men for \$1150 and \$1260 respectively (Estate of James Boaldin, *ibid.*, p. 202, sale bill not dated). In Henry county in 1860, a man aged 29 was valued at \$1250, a girl of twelve at \$1000, and one of fifteen at the same figure. A girl of nine and two boys of seven were valued at \$800 each, and a boy of five at \$600 (MS. Estate of A. Embry, MS. Probate Records, Henry County, Inventories, Appraisements and Sales, p. 126, filed Sept. 26, 1860).

In the same issue of the Richmond Weekly Mirror which published the above is an account of the sale of the negroes of Charity Creason, which were sold on January 1, 1855. They brought the following prices: A man, age 23, \$1439; another, age 38, \$1031; a woman, age 26, and her 18-month-old child, \$1102.50; a girl, age 3, \$400; and a woman of 59 for \$1.

During the middle and late fifties all classes of negroes were priced high. In 1856 a lot of children were sold in Saline county. A boy of nine went for \$550, one of seven for \$500, and another of five for \$300.¹¹ A Saline county inventory of 1859 shows what good prices negroes in general were commanding in the closing years of the slavery regime.¹²

Henry,	age 17,	value \$1300.
Daniel,	age 36,	value 1200.
George,	age 13,	value 950.
Stephen,	age 8,	value 650.
Addison,	age 8,	value 550.
Thomas,	age 5,	value 440.
Ellen,	age 20,	value \$1300.
Mary,	age 21,	
	(and child of	
	14 months)	value 1250.
Susan,	age 15,	value 1150.
Eliza,	age 17,	value 1050.
Francis,	age 10,	value 800.
Minerva,	age 12,	value 800.
Marie,	age 35,	
	(and son	

11. Estate of Benjamin Moberly, (MS. Probate Records, Saline County, Appraisements and Sales, 1855-1861, vol. 1, p. 118-9, filed Jan. 26, 1856). At Hannibal on April 15, 1855, a girl of nine sold for \$450, and a boy of four for \$321 (St. Louis Weekly Pilot, Apr. 21, 1855).

12. Estate of H. Eustace (MS. Probate Records, Saline County, Appraisements and Sales, 1855-61, vol. 1, p. 602-3, filed Apr. 4, 1859). In this same year, two men, ages not given, were appraised in Saline county at \$1300 each, and another at \$1100. A mother and child were together valued at \$1100 (Estate of Samuel M. McDonald, *ibid*, Probate files, Box No. 169, Inventory filed Nov. 20, 1859). In these Records there are many similar valuations.

18 months)	value	775.
Delia,	age 46, value	500.
Julia,	age 4, value	400.
A girl, age 6 mos., value		50.

But for top prices we turn to Boone county where in 1860 George W. Gordon's blacks brought superior valuations:¹³

Lou,	age 25, value	\$1500.
Horace,	age 30, value	1500.
Charles,	age 34, value	1600.
Roger,	age 36, value	1500.

It appears from the foregoing pages that the highest official valuation placed upon a negro man was \$1600, and upon a woman, \$1300. A difficulty in finding the exact price of slave women is the fact that small children were often included with them.

When the Civil War opened and escapes became more numerous the value of slave property began to decline. Compared with the above figures we have the following appraisement of the estate of Lawson Calvin of Saline county, filed July 11, 1861, after the war had engulfed the State in a torrent of strife:¹⁴

Lewis,	age 18, value	\$800.
George,	age 12, value	600.
Lewis,	age 47, value	500.
Henry,	age 7, value	300.
Narcissa,	age 16, value	600.
Mag,	age 40, value	275.

Nevertheless it is surprising how slaves persisted as property in the State during the War. The prices kept fairly high.

13. MS. Probate Records, Boone County, Inventories, Appraisements and Sales, Book B, p. 287, Inventory filed Dec. 25, 1860). In 1859, William W. Hudson's negro named Beverley, age 29, was valued at \$1500, three other men at \$1200 each, and four men at \$1000 each, (*ibid.*, p. 170, filed Sept. 12, 1859).

14. MS. Probate Records, Saline County, Inventories and Appraisements, 1855-61, vol. i, p. 677. The appraisement of the estate of Elizabeth Huff of July 7, 1861, bears similar testimony to the effect of the War on slave property (*ibid.*).

The probate records of Lafayette, Missouri's greatest slave county, bear witness to this fact. Two men were actually appraised at \$1100 and \$800, respectively, and a woman at \$1000 in November, 1861.¹⁵ In January, 1862, a woman was valued at \$650 and another at \$550, and a boy of seventeen at \$650, while one of the eleven was rated at \$500.¹⁶ By the last of July, 1863, the price had further decreased. But although Gettysburg had been fought and the State was overrun by bushwhackers, the price dropped but did not fall, as one conversant with conditions in the border-states in those years would expect. In the above month two women, aged 23 and 16 were appraised at \$300 each, and a boy of eight at \$400.¹⁷ But slaves were not merely appraised this late. On June 3, 1863, the negroes of Samuel F. Taylor of Lafayette county were actually sold as follows: Amanda, \$380; Milky (girl), \$370; Jack, \$305; Georgetta, \$300; William, \$250; Eunis, \$200; and Sam, \$200.¹⁸ There is an appraisal of an estate in Lafayette county made on October 2, 1863, but the slaves listed are not assigned value.¹⁹ Nevertheless over a month later, on November 5, 1863, negroes were still appraised, but it is the last official valuation of slave property in Lafayette county records. On that date a "boy" named Charles was appraised at \$300 and a girl of fourteen at \$200.²⁰

The total value of slave property is of course very difficult to find. Contemporaries were far from agreeing on this point.

15. The Estate of Col. John Brown, Appraisement filed Nov. 18, 1861 (MS. Probate Records, Lafayette County, Inventories, Appraisements and Sales, vol. ii, p. 24).

16. Estate of John D. Bailey, Inventory filed Jan. 2, 1862 (*ibid*, p. 18).

17. Estate of Randell Latamer, Appraisement filed July (?), 1863 (*ibid*, p. 261.)

18. Estate of Samuel F. Taylor, Bill of Sale, filed June 6, 1863 (MS. Probate Records, Lafayette County, Inventories and Sale Bills, Book D, p. 69). Several slaves appraised in the fore part of this year are found in these records. The values show a gradual decline.

19. Estate of Western Woolard (*ibid*, Inventories, Appraisements and Sales, vol. ii, p. 267).

20. Estate of F. U. Talliferro (*ibid*, p. 262).

For instance in 1854 John Hogan of the "Republican," in an article to boom St. Louis and Missouri, placed the average value at \$300.²¹ Contrasted with this low estimate the "Address to the People of the United States," prepared by a committee of the Lexington Proslavery Convention of 1855, valued the 50,000 slaves of western Missouri at \$25,000,000, or \$500 each.²² Governor Jackson in his inaugural address of January 3, 1861, estimated the 114,931 slaves of the State to be worth \$100,000,000.²³ Of course the Governor was speaking in general terms, but his average would be nearly \$700 the slave.

The above figures are in excess to those of the county assessors of the period. Tax values are usually considered lower than market values. The Jackson county tax average for 1860 was \$483.05 per slave,²⁴ and that of Boone county \$372.30.²⁵ The average in Pike county in 1859 was \$434.78.²⁶ In 1856 in Buchanan county it was \$450.92,²⁷ and that of the 170 slaves of its county seat, St. Joseph, was \$434.70.²⁸ Evidently the assessors of the various counties had no uniform standard in rating slave values.

Despite the fact that the above figures vary they at least show that slave property was increasing in price. In 1828 the 239 slaves of Lafayette county were taxed at an average of

21. *Thoughts about the City of St. Louis*, pamphlet, p. 65 (Republican Office, 1854).
22. *Proceedings of the Convention*, p. 3, or in the *Missouri Weekly Sentinel*, Oct. 5, 1855. This address was signed by W. B. Napton, Governor Sterling Price, and others.
23. Pamphlet, p. 7 (*Jefferson City*, 1861).
24. MS. Tax Book, Jackson County, 1860; 3316 slaves, tax value, \$1,452,591.
25. MS. Tax Book, Boone County, 1860; 4354 slaves, tax value, \$1,721,000.
26. MS. Tax Book, Pike County, 1859; 3733 slaves, tax value, \$1,623,085.
27. MS. Tax Book, Buchanan County, 1856; 1534 slaves, tax value, \$691,825.
28. M. H. Nash, City Registrar, valued the 170 slaves of the town at \$73,900 (*St. Joseph Commercial Cycle*, Sept. 7, 1855).

\$249.68.²⁹ This is at the least a third less than the average rate in the counties above mentioned in the years around 1860. In comparing these values the decreasing purchasing power of money should be taken into consideration.

A very bitter experience which the slave might at any time be forced to undergo was his removal to a strange region far from his family and old associations. This disruption of the negro family was entirely dependent upon the humanity of the individual owner. The sale of the slave south was practiced in Missouri as in the other border states. But the Missourians deny that it was ever practised save where financial reverses, an excess of hands, or a chronic spirit of viciousness or of absconding on the part of the slave necessitated it.³⁰

Whether to mollify the new antislavery party which developed during the Compromise struggle, or through pure conviction, the constitution of 1820 provided that the Legislature might pass laws to prohibit the introduction of slaves into the State as "an article of commerce."³¹ The provision was not taken seriously and the General Assembly never acted upon the suggestion.

The slave trader is generally pictured as the brutal, conscienceless, necessary evil, of the slavery system, detested even by those with whom he dealt. In Missouri he held no very enviable position. "Slave-traders and whiskey-sellers were equally hated by many," wrote one anti-slavery clergyman of

29. The History of Lafayette County (St. Louis, 1881), p. 306. The total valuation was \$59,665, as copied by the author of the above work from the tax book.

30. "I never heard of any Missourian who consciously raised slaves for the southern market. I feel sure it was never done," said Lieutenant Governor R. A. Campbell of Bowling Green. Mr. Robert B. Price of Columbia denied that slaves were consciously bred for the southern market. Mr. J. W. Beatty of Mexico stated that there was a general feeling that the sale of negroes south was not right. Old residents and slaveholders in all parts of the state were corresponded with and all denied that in Missouri, at least, slave breeding was ever engaged in as the antislavery people so often charged. The better classes at any rate frowned upon the practise.

31. Art. III, sec. 26.

St. Louis,³² while another maintained that "large fortunes were made by the trade; and some of those who made them were held as fit associates for the best men on 'change'."³³ Dr. John Doy, the Kansas Abolitionist, who had a personal grievance against the Missouri slaveholder, claims that Gen. Dorris, whom he described as a brutal dealer, was highly respected and "belonged to the aristocracy of Platte county."³⁴

Some of the slaveholders who were interviewed declared that the slave trader and the saloon keeper were tolerated as necessary evils, but that they were personally loathed and socially ostracized. Others, however, stated that it was a question of the individual trader, some being liked and some disliked.³⁵

If the slave trader was a hard man and detested, he at least had the satisfaction of knowing that the wisest and gentlest of men would be hated by many if plying his trade. The very nature of the business made it contemptible. If the Missouri system was as patriarchal and the tie between the master and man as close as we are led to believe it was, the dealer who higgled and bargained even for the most unruly servant must have been disliked. This feeling would naturally be enhanced if financial reverses compelled the sale of family slaves.³⁶

32. Galusha Anderson, *A Border City During the War*, p. 171. (Boston, 1908).

33. William G. Eliot, *The Story of Archer Alexander*, p. 100 (Boston, 1885).

34. *Narrative*, p. 59.

35. Captain J. A. Wilson of Lexington declared that slave traders were considered worse than saloon keepers, many of them about Lafayette county being gamblers. Mr. R. B. Price of Columbia stated that they were considered a questionable class in Boone county. Messrs. J. H. Sallee and J. W. Beatty of Mexico said that like any other class of people some were respected and some were detested. James Aull of Lexington, a prominent merchant and slaveholder, wrote in 1835, "—a traffic in slaves we never could consent to embark in. No hope of gain could induce us to do it—we entirely and forever abandon the least share in the purchase of negroes for sale again." (MS. Aull to Siter, Price & Company of Philadelphia, June 15; Aull Papers, in the collection of E. U. Hopkins and John Chamberlain of Lexington, Mo.).

36. Many dealers were undoubtedly brutal men. An escaped Missouri slave later wrote that he was once hired to a dealer named Walker,

In addition to the vicious, the runaway, and the slave of the financially depressed owner, there was a surplus from the natural increase. Consequently quite a local negro exchange existed. Besides this there was the itinerant buyer for the southern markets. The smaller towns seem to have been regularly visited, while the larger centers had permanent dealers. There were two such in Lexington in 1861, but they are said to have had difficulty in getting sufficiently large gangs to make the business pay.³⁷ There was at least one permanently located firm of dealers in St. Joseph in 1856.³⁸ John Doy claims many were shipped from St. Joseph while he was imprisoned there, to Bernard Lynch, Corbin Thompson, and other large St. Louis buyers.³⁹ Columbia and Marshall were regularly visited, and Platte City had quite a thriving trade.⁴⁰ John R.

who collected Missouri slaves for the Gulf markets. This Walker forced a beautiful mulatto slave into concubinage, and after years sold her and his four children by her into slavery before marrying a white woman (William B. Brown, *Narrative*, p. 47). Once while on a negro buying expedition Walker was annoyed at the continual wailing of an infant in the gang. He seized it from the mother and ran into a wayside house with the child hanging by one leg. Despite the shrieks of the mother he gave it to a woman who thankfully received it. The gang then marched on to St. Louis (*ibid*, p. 49). John Doy says that while a prisoner in Platte City he met many brutal dealers. He thus describes a slave gang: "At midnight Gen. Dorris, his son and assistants, came to the jail and ordered the slaves to get ready to leave. As it was quite cold a pair of sox were drawn over the fists and wrists of the men, in place of mittens, they were then handcuffed together in pairs and driven into the street, where they were formed into marching order behind the wagons containing the women and children—some of the former tied with ropes when considered unruly" (*Narrative*, p. 64).

37. Captain J. A. Wilson has a map of Lexington executed by Jos. C. Jennings in 1861. It also contains a business directory in which are given two slave traders, A. Alexander at the City Hotel, and R. J. White at the Laurel Hotel. The latter, Captain Wilson remembers, had a three story building he used as a slave pen, but found it difficult to collect many negroes.

38. Wright and Carter who were "Located permanently at the Empire on Second Street" (*St. Joseph Commercial Cycle*, Aug. 15, 1856).

39. *Narrative*, p. 98.

40. Mr. R. B. Price remembers that dealers came regularly to Columbia. "Uncle" Henry Napper said that buyers came regularly to Mar-

White of Howard county was a wealthy farmer of good repute who dealt in slaves. He lived on a farm of 1,053 acres and was taxed with 46 negroes in 1856.⁴¹ The slave trader like the stock dealer undoubtedly plied his trade wherever he could obtain his commodity.

St. Louis became quite a market for shipping gangs down the Mississippi. One Reuben Bartlett openly advertised for negroes for the "Memphis and Louisiana Markets."⁴² "St. Louis was fast becoming a slave market," wrote the Reverend W. G. Eliot, an antislavery clergyman, "and the supply was increasing with the demand. Often have I seen gangs of negroes handcuffed together, two and two, going through the open street like dumb cattle, on the way to the steamboat for the South. Large fortunes were made by the trade."⁴³ "I had to prepare the old slaves for the market," states William Brown, a slave who worked for a trader on a boat from St. Louis south on the Mississippi, "I was ordered to have the old men's whiskers shaved off, and the grey hairs plucked out where they were not too numerous, in which case he (the trader) had a preparation of blacking to color it, and with a blacking brush we put it on. . . . These slaves were then taught how old they were. . . . After going through the blacking process

shall and picked up unruly slaves and those of hard-up masters. John Doy wrote, "During our imprisonment [in Platte City in the fifties] numbers of slaves were lodged in the jail by different traders, who were making up gangs to take or send to the south. Every slave when brought in, was ordered to strip naked, and was minutely examined for marks, which with the condition of the teeth and other details, were carefully noted by the trader in his memorandum book. Many facts connected with these examinations were too disgusting to mention." (Narrative, p. 59.) J. G. Haskell states that, unless unruly, the slave had little danger of being sold to a distant market, "the oldest inhabitant remembers no such thing as a market auction block in western Missouri." "The Passing of Slavery in Western Missouri," Kansas Historical Society Collections, vol. vii, p. 31.

41. MS. Tax Book, Howard County, 1856. Mr. George Carson of Fayette gave the above description of White's character.

42. Republican, Apr. 23, 1852.

43. The Life of Archer Alexander, p. 100.

they looked fifteen years younger. . . ."⁴⁴ In one issue of the Republican three firms, perhaps to imply great prosperity or to outdo one another, advertised for five hundred, one thousand, and twenty-five hundred slaves respectively.⁴⁵ The St. Louis Directory of 1859 lists two "Slave Dealers" among the classified places of business. These were Bernard M. Lynch of 100 Locust St., and Corbin Thompson, 3 South Sixth street.⁴⁶ As a type of the great Missouri slave dealer we will take the former. Bernard M. Lynch, as we have seen, had his correspondents in western Missouri. His historic slave-pen was afterwards used as a military prison.⁴⁷ By means of the newspapers, he, like other dealers, advertised his business. Lynch posted a placard in his office, giving his rates, and the conditions under which he handled negroes. This broadside reads as follows.⁴⁸

44. Narrative, p. 43. Brown claims that "Missouri, though a comparatively new State is (1847) very much engaged in raising slaves to supply the southern market," (*ibid.*, p. 81). On the other hand the anti-slavery clergyman, Frederick Starr, said in 1863, "It is true that our papers are defiled by the advertisements of slave traders, but they are few. Our Courthouse witnesses the sale (of slaves) . . . and yet, this is emphatically a free city . . . most of the sales are for debt, or to close estates in accordance with the statute law . . . " (*Letters to the People*, No. 1, *Slavery in Missouri*, p. 8 (New York, 1853). He wrote under the pseudonym "Lynceus".

45. Issue of Jan. 7, 1854.

46. Published by L. and A. Carr, p. 131. In the Directory of 1859, published by R. V. Kennedy and Company, this same list appears by Lynch's address is given as 109 Locust St. (p. 615.). In a letter to S. P. Sublette of Jan. 19, 1853, Lynch gave his address as 104 Locust St. (MS. Sublette Papers).

47. An account of this building can be found in the *Encyclopedia of Missouri History*, vol. III, p. 1333. There was also a slave pen at Broadway and Clark Streets (J. L. Foy, "Slavery and Emancipation in Missouri," *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 2079). Another was located at Fifth and Myrtle streets (Galusha Anderson, *A Border City During the War*, p. 184). Lucy Delaney states that her mother was sold at an "auction room on Main street." (From the *Darkness Cometh the Light, or Struggles for Freedom* (St. Louis, 1892?) p. 22). Father D. S. Phelan of St. Louis remembers seeing slaves sold at the block on the northeast corner of Fifth and Elm streets.

48. Photofacsimile copy in the Missouri Historical Society.

"RULES

"No charge less than one dollar

"All negroes entrusted to my care for sale or otherwise must be at the Risk of the Owners,

"A charge of 37½ cents will be made per day for board of negroes 2½ per cent on all sales of slaves,

"My usual care will be taken to avoid escape, or accidents, but will not be made Responsible should they occur. I only promise to give the same protection to other negroes that I do to my own I bar all pretext to want of diligence.

"These must be the acknowledge terms of all Negroes found in my care, as they will not be received on any other.—As these rules will be placed in my Office, so That all can see that will see, the pretence of ignorance shall not be a plea.

"1st January, 1858

B. M. LYNCH
No. 100 Locust St."

Lynch could not have been the terror-inspiring genius that the slave dealer is usually pictured. On two different occasions slaves ran for refuge to his door.⁴⁹ He was evidently clever enough to empty his "pen" on tax assessment day. In 1852 Lynch was taxed with three slaves,⁵⁰ on the same number in 1857,⁵¹ and on four in 1860.⁵²

The slave dealer had his troubles and was perhaps a little prone to horse "swapping" methods. His commodity at times fell back upon his hands. "I received your letter yesterday," runs a note from John S. Bishop to S. P. Sublette in 1854, "in reference to the negro girl I sold you. I will be on my way south by the last of October . . . and will take the negro

49. On Dec. 16, 1852, Lynch wrote Solomon P. Sublette, "Your negro woman Sarah came to the gate for admittance. She is here and will be held subject to your order. Very respectively, B. M. Lynch." (MS. Sublette Papers). On Jan. 19, 1852, Lynch wrote Sublette, "Your negro woman with child rang about 4 o'clock this morning for admittance and will be retained subject to your order." (Ibid.)

50. MS. Tax Book, St. Louis City, 1852, Second District p. 117.

51. MS. Tax Book, St. Louis City, 1857, vol. II, p. 96.

52. MS. Tax Book, St. Louis City, 1860, Book L to O, p. 74.

and pay you the money—or if you should see my brother J. B. Bishop he perhaps will pay you the money, and request him if he does to leave the girl at Mullhall's at the stock yards.”⁵³ In February, 1855, Bishop wrote Sublette, “I received yours of February 8 and was rather surprised . . . times is hard and money scarce. I would of taken her as I was going south but do not want her now in hard times as negroes have fallen. I bought her above here and paid \$600 for her as a Sound Negro and a very good one and will have my recourse where I bought her so you will know how to proceed according to law.”⁵⁴

In some respects the slave trade was unique. In the earlier period the negro was frequently used as a medium of exchange, being traded for land in the early days of the State.⁵⁵ Some dealers bought up horses and slaves.⁵⁶ Others handled negroes, real estate, and loans.⁵⁷ In some cases slaves were taken on trial.⁵⁸ Some dealers sold negroes on commission, boarding them till sold at the owner's risk and at his expense.⁵⁹

53. MS., dated Mexico, Mo., Sept. 26, 1852 (Sublette Papers).

54. MS., dated February 14, 1855 (Ibid.). A guarantee of soundness for a slave sale reads as follows: “Franklin County, Mo. March 1, 1856. Received of Mr. Solomon P. Sublette Eight Hundred and Fifty Dollars in full payment for a negro girl Eliza, aged 17 years, the above described negro girl, I warrant sound in body and mind a Slave for life & free from all claims. W. G. Nally.” (Ibid.)

55. In the Farmers' and Mechanics' Advocate (St. Louis), of Nov. 21, 1833, is an example of this. Such advertisements are common.

56. Advertisement of George Buchanan in the Republican of March 19, 1849.

57. “I. B. Burbbayge, General Agent, and proprietor of the old established Real Estate, Negro Slave, Money Agency and Intelligence Office, Third St., between Chestnut and Market Streets.” (Daily Missourian (St. Louis), May 1, 1845).

58. We find this Advertisement in the Richmond Weekly Mirror of Oct. 20, 1854 “Negro woman for Sale—She can be taken on trial if preferred.”

59. See the advertisements of Blakey and McAfee (Republican, Mar. 6 1849); B. M. Lynch (St. Louis Daily Union, Feb. 6, 1849); of R. Bartlett (Republican, Jan. 7, 1854), and of Wright and Carter in the St. Joseph Commercial Cycle of Aug. 15, 1856.

Many sorrows were undoubtedly suffered by bereaved slave families, and much misery borne by negroes in the hands of traders. But the master at times endeavored to make his departing bondman comfortable. In the Republican of January 7, 1854, we read, "For Sale—A good negro man, 32 years old, and not to be taken from the city." In the same issue a dealer offered to find homes for negroes within the city or State if requested. Either these provisions were to prevent a separation of slave families or to insure the master that his negro would not be sold south.

The official negro block of St. Louis was the eastern door of the Courthouse.⁶⁰ Some of these sales, especially when negroes were on the block may have been accompanied by obscene jibes and comment. The frequency of this is denied by contemporaries. "I have often," said a citizen of Lexington, "heard the auctioneer cry, 'a sound wench, sixteen years old, good to cook, iron, bake, and work. Warranted a slave for life.' Crowds would flock to the courthouse to see the sight. I never heard or saw any indecency on such an occasion."⁶¹ William Brown stated it was common in St. Louis to hear a negress on the block thus described: "How much is offered for this woman? She is a good cook, good washer, and a good obedient servant. She has got religion."⁶²

But at its best the slave traffic was perhaps the worst feature of the system. Unruly slaves were continually threatened with being "sold south" as a means of encouraging industry or of enforcing discipline. Families were separated and obedient slaves often sold into a life of misery "down the river", either because of callousness on the part of the owner or because financial straits demanded it.⁶³

60. Most of the notices of official slave sales state that the bidding would take place at the east door of the courthouse. Slaves were also sold at the north door.

61. Captain J. A. Wilson.

62. Narrative, p. 83.

63. Lucy Delaney states that she was continually threatened with being sold south. Her father was sent south despite the will of his late master. Lucy herself escaped this fate by hiding with friends in St. Louis

Many sad incidents occurred at the block. Children were at times wrung from their parents. Professor Peter H. Clark of St. Louis remembers a house on the southwest corner of Morgan and Garrison streets in which lived a woman who bought up infants from the mothers' arms at the slave markets of St. Louis and raised them for profit.

On the other hand a little good was inadvertently done by some dealers. The story of the finding of Wharton Blanton's slave pen near Wright City, Warren county, is most interesting. The mounds, some two score in number, were supposed to mark the resting place of some ill-fated Spanish expedition, or of an Indian tribe. After exhuming the bodies they were found to be those of negroes. Eventually it was learned that one Blanton had bought up diseased negroes about St. Louis and taken them to the above place for recuperation. Those dying on his hands were buried as above described.⁶⁴

The incidental and often exceptional results of the system were juicy morsels for the gleaning of anti slavery agitators. The public too often generalized on these exceptions which were perhaps only too numerous.

HARRISON A. TRESLER.

University of Montana.

(Out of the Darkness Cometh the Light, p. 14, 22). Undoubtedly the sale of slaves was discouraged by the better classes. We read the following letter dated St. Joseph, Nov. 26, 1850: "I must Know tell you what I have done with Kitty. I found her two expensive and I sold here for one hundred and fifty dollars which money started me House Keeping it was through necessity I sold here." (MS. Wm. S. Hereford to S. P. Sublette, Sublette Papers.) The separation of families was also described. "I have a Negro Woman in St. Louis," runs a letter of Nov. 1, 1848, "she should remain (in St. Louis) if she prefers it—She may have a child or children, if so, dispose of the whole family to the same person . . . " (MS. Captain G. Morris to W. F. Darby, Darby Papers.)

64. This information was gained by Mr. T. C. Wilson of Columbia, Mo. Mr. Wilson was one of the excavators of this cemetery. His knowledge of the above traffic of Blanton was gained from old residents of the neighborhood. He also learned a great deal from Mr. Emil Pollien of Warrenton, Mo., the present possessor of this property. According to Mr. Pollien's papers the land came into the Blanton family's possession in 1829.

THE OLD TOWN OF ELIZABETH.

WAS CALLAWAY'S FIRST COUNTY SEAT—LOCATED ON HAM'S PRAIRIE.

Elizabeth, the first county seat of Callaway county, was located at the northwest edge of Ham's Prairie, in section 9, township 46, range 9, on 100 acres of ground donated to the county by Judge Benjamin Young and Thomas Smith. The exact location of the site cannot be determined from the records now in existence, but the impression among old citizens is that it was just west of the Rupert or Ratekin place, and immediately south of the east-and-west lane on the Mokane road, a little more than a mile northwest of the village of Ham's Prairie.

The statute of the general assembly of November, 25, 1820, which created Callaway county, appointed Josiah Ramsey, Jr., Henry Brite, William McLaughlin, Samuel Miller and Enoch Fruit members of a commission to locate the permanent seat of government of the county, and on March 8, 1821, the commissioners reported to the county court that they had chosen Elizabeth.

The report was signed by Brite, McLaughlin and Miller. Fruit dissented, making a note on the report which said: "I do hereby enter my protest against the foregoing county seat, in consequence of its not being nearer the center of the county. Enoch Fruit." Ramsey did not sign the report, and on October 1 of the same year resigned from the board. James Nevins was named as his successor by Rufus Pettibone, of St. Charles, who was the first judge of the circuit court of Callaway county.

Fruit's objection to the location of the county seat evidently was shared by the people of the county, for in 1824 a majority of the citizens of the county petitioned the general assembly to re-locate the county seat. In consequence of that petition Fulton became the county seat.

Elizabeth was named for the wife of Henry Brite, one of the commissioners. He kept a tavern on Ham's Prairie, just

east of Elizabeth, in the house now owned and occupied by C. F. Shiffler, and during the time that the county seat remained at Elizabeth his tavern was used as the meeting place of all the courts. The original house was built of logs and was one story high. Many changes have been made in it, among them being the erection of a second story. All trace of Brite and his family has been lost.

Elizabeth was platted, lots were sold, and at least a jail built. The jail was burned just about the time the county seat was moved to Fulton. The proceeds from the sale of lots was \$705.50, and the whole sum was spent in the erection of the jail. The first sale of lots was at public auction on May 14, 1821, when 17 were sold for \$345.50.

The purchasers of lots in the town of Elizabeth were the following: William Cowherd, Samuel Miller, Thomas Smith, Henry Brite, William McLaughlin, Bethel Allen, Joseph T. Sitton, Thomas G. Rankin, Wharton R. Moore, Benjamin Young, Samuel T. Moore, Lafayette Collins, William F. Dunnica, William Coats, James Goodridge, Robert Taylor, John Coats, James Humphreys, Patrick Ewing, John Pratt, William Martin, James Nevins, Johathan Crow, Simon Riggs, Robert Humphreys, Thomas Kitchens, Daniel McLaughlin, Joseph Aud, Fontaine Marr and John Hayes.

Several lots sold as low as \$5, while William Cowherd, who got lot No. 4 in block No. 7 for \$40, paid the highest price. Cowherd was a tanner, and later had a tanyard on the creek in Fulton. It is possible that he was a remote relative of William S. Cowherd, Democratic nominee for governor of Missouri in 1908.

Nothing is on record to show that any houses were built in Elizabeth. Most of the men who bought lots were owners of farm lands in the county, and it is not probable that they erected houses in Elizabeth when they had no use for them. Judge Young and Mr. Smith both lived near by, and they, with the Brite tavern folks, probably constituted the settlement at the county seat.

Judge Young was a man of large consequence in the county during his life time. Governor McNair appointed him a

member of the first county court, and when the court met he was chosen as presiding justice. After serving on the court about a year, Judge Young resigned, and Samuel T. Moore, who lived on Ham's Prairie and was founder of one branch of the Moore family in Callaway county, was appointed to take his place. Judge Young was elected a member of the state senate in 1822 and continued in that office through the year 1832. Subsequently he represented the county in the general assembly in 1838 and 1840. He also was a member of the state constitutional convention of 1845. Judge Young died in 1851 and is buried in the old family graveyard on Ham's Prairie. He was quite wealthy, having more than 1,100 acres of land at the time of his death, and also a dozen negroes and a lot of personal property, including considerable money that was loaned out. His will, written by Judge Irvine O. Hockaday, father of the late Judge John A. Hockaday, is on file in the office of the probate court. He was married twice, and at the time of his death his second wife and four married daughters were living. The daughters were Mrs. Mary C. Layson, mother of Samuel Layson, of Fulton; Mrs. Elizabeth A. Guthrie, Mrs. Ann E. George and Mrs. Martha V. Moore. Mrs. Young afterward married Elder Theodrick Boulware, father of I. W. Boulware, Fulton's venerable lawyer, and was his third wife. The will tells that he had given his daughters 11 negroes. His son-in-law, William M. George, was the executor of his will. Young's creek is named for Judge Young.

Many of the men who bought lots in Elizabeth have descendants living in the county today. Samuel Miller lived near Miller's Creek Methodist church, and Miller's creek was named for him. His wife, Polly Miller, was a pioneer Methodist, and they were the parents of the Rev. Dr. Wesley Green Miller, the most eminent Methodist minister Callaway county has ever produced. Joseph T. Sitton afterward moved to Fulton and kept a tavern, which was used as a meeting place for the courts until the court house was erected. All of the Moores have descendants in the county. William Coats was a Primitive Baptist preacher and the man who in 1818 established Old Salem Baptist church on Coat's Prairie, the first Protestant

church in the county. John Pratt was the father of James W. Pratt, of this city, and of John and Robert Pratt, of McCredie.

John Yates, father of Dr. Martin Yates, of this city, and the man who built the first house in the original town of Fulton, kept a store at Brite's tavern during Elizabeth days. The store was owned first by Collier & Company, of St. Charles, but soon after it was opened Mr. Yates bought an interest in it. He moved the store to Fulton in 1825 and was a merchant here many years. The store at Elizabeth was the second in the county, the first being at Cote Sans Dessein and owned by Daniel Colgan, Jr.

When the county seat was moved from Elizabeth to Fulton, the ground on which Elizabeth was located reverted back to the original owners. The purchasers of lots in Elizabeth were given permission by law to buy lots in Fulton to take the place of those owned in Elizabeth, and several availed themselves of the privilege. The commissioners who built the court house and jail in Fulton, however, had to pay out \$688.50 for Elizabeth claims.

The last courts at Elizabeth were held in 1825. No one is living who remembers the place, but the records of the various courts of the county tell much concerning it. Many documents in connection with its official history are still on file in the office of the clerk of the county court, among them being the reports made by the commissioners to the county court, including one giving an account of the sale of lots.

OVID BELL.

EARLY MISSOURI ROADS.

Many of our native wild animals had their regular trails. The rabbit knew his narrow path. The deer had his, and his route was known to the hunters. When the hunter put his hounds on the trail of a deer, other persons would take positions behind trees along the known trail, and would shoot the deer as he passed. The buffalo had a well marked trail worn by the tramping of hundreds. In Ralls county I have seen an old buffalo trail 50 feet wide and 5 feet deep. This I traced for several hundred yards. I have noticed a similar trail in Newton county, Missouri. At several places in Mitchell county, Texas, I have seen well marked buffalo trails.

Our early settlers selected good land convenient to streams, but they needed neighbors. As they were often some distance apart, paths had to be made or roads cleared out. On the plains west a pile of rocks would be formed on a hilltop. Further along the route other piles would be formed. These were guides for the traveler.

Hence, our early legislatures occupied much time in passing acts authorizing certain roads. As this took up much time the matter was finally left to the counties.

Well-marked roads generally connected the nearby county seats. Campbell's maps of Missouri counties show many roads.

Before railroads were built there were well-marked and well-worn roads leading across the State. The Boonslick was probably the best traveled of our early roads. It started at St. Charles and followed the ridge most of the way to Howard county. It passed Cottleville, Pittmans, Naylor's store, Pondfort, Pauldingville (where Kemer kept), Hickory Grove, Warrenton, Camp Branch, Jones, Danville, Williamsburgh, seven miles north of Fulton, and as far north of Columbia, thence through Thralls Prairie, to Franklin and to Boonslick. This was the main route prior to 1822. Missouri becoming a State, Fulton and Columbia became county seats. This affected the travel. So, from Williamsburgh the road was opened by way

of Fulton, Millersburgh, and Columbia, thence to Rocheport and Franklin. Trade at this time was much directed to Santa Fe, and the road continued westwardly from the old town of Franklin by Arrow Rock, Marshall, Malta Bend, Grand Pass, Fort Osage, to Independence. The Salt River road passed out from St. Charles to St. Peters, thence along the Mississippi bluffs to Burkles', thence by Wellsburgh, Flint Hill to Troy thence by Alexandria, Auburn, Prairieville (now Eolia), Bowling Green, New London, to Palmyra. In St. Charles county there were tributaries of this road, one known as the Middle Salt River, passing from St. Peters by Gilmore's, Thos. Pierce's to Flint Hill.

From St. Louis the Manchester Road passed out northwest by Manchester, Gray's Gap, Moseley's and further across the State was known as the Springfield Road. It passed right by Wishong's and Weber's (now Rolla), thence by Lebanon, Marshfield, Springfield, Mt. Vernon, to Neosho and beyond.

From Gray's Gap on the Manchester Road, a main traveled road passed west by Union, Mt. Sterling, Lisle and Osage, to Jefferson City. From Jefferson City a road passed south by Hickory Hill and Tuscumbia to Lebanon. A well traveled stage route from Jefferson City, by Russellville, Versailles, Cole Camp, Warsaw, and Bolivar to Springfield. From Jefferson City west by Centertown, Tipton, Georgetown, Knobnoster, Warrensburg, Centre Knob, Pleasant Hill, to Independence.

All the principal roads leading out from St. Louis had names which they still keep. The Bellefontaine passed northwardly. The Natural Bridge Road and the St. Charles Rock Road both reached a point on the Missouri river opposite St. Charles. The Olive Street Road, the Manchester Road extended to Manchester and beyond, the Clayton Road passing west, the Gravois Road southwest.

In Boone there were well marked roads in different directions; from Columbia to Rocheport, Columbia to Sturgeon, the Paris Road, the Mexico Road, Providence Road, to Ashland and Jefferson City.

An important road was one from Louisiana to Bowling Green, Ashley, Middletown and Danville. Well-marked roads

from Louisiana to Frankfort, Clarksville to Paynesville, Clarksville to Prairieville.

I have been over the most of the above roads, and speak from personal knowledge.

Plank roads were considered before the railroads and were built in St. Genevieve, St. Louis, Pike and Boone. They very soon were abandoned because they wore out too soon. They were not renewed and the people began to think of railroads. In 1836 railroads were first talked of. In 1836 the Legislature incorporated eighteen railroad companies, but few of which ever built roads. In 1848 the Legislature granted charters to three railroads companies. In 1852 the first few miles of the Pacific Railroad of Missouri were built. After that, railroad building progressed in Missouri.

G. C. BROADHEAD.

December, 1912.

ECHOES OF INDIAN EMIGRATION.

William Clark was Governor of Missouri Territory after its organization as a territory, from 1813, until its organization as a state in 1820. He was ex-officio superintendent of Indian Affairs during this time, and Richard Graham was Indian agent of the Osage nation. Clark continued to act as superintendent of Indian affairs until June 30, 1821, to which time he was allowed to settle his accounts, and after which, his superintendency ceased.

There were several persons who acted as interpreters, and at St. Louis there were the following official interpreters: L. T. Honore (of several languages); Paul Loise, Osage and other Indians in Missouri; P. Fournier, Osages in Missouri. In Richard Graham's Agency at St. Louis there was Philip Cramer, blacksmith, and one assistant. Also there was one blacksmith and gunsmith for the Osages, in Missouri at \$550 per annum, and one for the Delawares at \$550 per annum, and one for the Osages at \$200 per annum.

John Kennerly was transportation agent at St. Louis receiving \$400 per annum. At Fort Clark, George C. Sibley was factor, L. W. Boggs, assistant factor, and Joseph Reno was interpreter. Paul Ballio was factor at Osage branch factory.

Preparatory to removing several of the Indian tribes from the lands purchased from them by treaty in the Ohio valley, sites were selected for them in the then far west. Dr. McCoy was the surveyor selected to mark out the limits of some of their reservations. Dr. McCoy ran the western line of Arkansas from the southwestern corner of the state of Missouri to Fort Smith, as the following letter shows, which was written by Isaac McCoy, a brother of Dr. McCoy, who was also a surveyor engaged in the surveys of the public lands.

Aug. 18th, 1831.

Station Camp, Neosho River.

Sir:

I have just completed a tour of 33 days. I first accompanied the surveyors to the southwest corner of the state of Missouri, whence Mr. Donaldson proceeded on, and has completed a traverse line from that place to Fort Smith (about 77 miles) between the Cherokee and territory of Arkansas. It remains for that line to be corrected and marked back to the corner of Missouri.

Dr. McCoy proceeded northerly from the corner of Missouri, marked the line between the Cherokees and that state, and establish the northeast corner of the Cherokee lands as I shall describe below; and thence proceeded on the line of Missouri 22 miles further, marking distinctly every five miles, in order to facilitate subsequent surveys on the Indian side.

Mr. Donaldson's instructions embraced the completion of his line. Dr. McCoy was directed to note the crossing of the first water of the Neosho, north of the corner of Missouri (which is a small creek and only about a mile and a half north of the corner of Missouri) and to proceed until he had crossed all the waters on that line which run into Neosho; to note this northern termination of his line, and then measure west until he reached the Osage reservation marking every five miles.

(Signed) Isaac McCoy, Surveyor.

(See Emigrant Indians) Vol. 2—Page 561.

* * * * *

St. Louis, Dec. 13th, 1831.

Henry C. Brish, Sub Indian agent, in removing the Seneca Indians from Ohio to their lands west of Missouri arrived with them in St. Charles at this time, and found a considerable number of them were too sick to be taken farther, and one woman died. Fourteen were left. With the remainder he continued to Troy. There two others died, and nearly the whole number became sick. A number of children had their feet and hands frozen. An encampment was pitched on the Quiver Creek until better weather obtained.

"Messrs. David and Samuel Bailey, contractors to remove the Seneca Indians to their lands, were both taken ill soon after they reached Troy. Myself and the friends who accompanied me have all been sick, and have suffered much from the cold. The services of either Col. Bailey or his brother, would have been absolutely necessary to me in the trip.

"I have made an arrangement with Col. Bailey to furnish the necessary provisions to my Indians during their stay at their present encampment, and have also contracted with him to supply them for the first six months after they arrive upon their lands, on terms which I consider reasonable. I beg leave, respectfully, to submit those reasons for the course pursued in this matter, to your consideration.

"Your Obedient Servant,
(Signed) Henry C. Brish.
Sub Indian Agent."

"Gen. Wm. Clark,
"Superintendent Indian Affairs St. Louis.

In a letter from Wm. Clark, the Secretary of War, dated St. Louis, Dec. 20, 1831, he explains that Mr. Brish contracted with Bailey, "to supply the Senecas, encamped near Troy, with provisions, at ten cents per ration, and to procure, (while provisions can be obtained), a supply for six months to be delivered on their lands at sixteen cents per ration. This is, I believe, as reasonable as provisions can be procured and transported." There were 232 Senecas.

When the Shawnees crossed the state of Missouri they were under Lieutenant Col. J. J. Abert, special commissioner of Emigration. They crossed the Mississippi into Missouri at Alton on Nov. 1, and 2, 1832. They had followed the same route as the Senecas as far as Vandalia and here Clark's advice was for them to avoid St. Louis. They were going to their lands on the Kansas river and hence this northern route. A small detachment of Ottawas were with them as part of the emigration. This band was connected by intermarriages with the Shawnees, and looked up to them as elder brothers. The cholera attacked the Ottawas, but with no serious results. On the 16th of No-

vember they arrived at the Missouri, at Arrow Rock, and here a storm delayed them, and they were five days in crossing the Missouri. Here, at Arrow Rock, they received twenty-three new rifles, which had been provided for in treaty with the Shawnees.¹ The Shawnee village, twenty miles west of Independence, Mo., was reached during the afternoon of November 30th. The Shawnees in this band numbered about 450, and the Ottawas about 100.

In a letter from James B. Gardiner to Hon. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, bearing date of Feb. 25, 1833, he says:² "For the sake of convenience, as well as to avoid collisions and quarrels on the way, each tribe or band was marched separately, and as nearly as circumstances would permit, from ten to twenty miles apart. While passing through the populous settlements, it was found impossible to prevent the Indians from obtaining ardent spirits in such quantities as produced some serious disturbances and numerous detentions.

"The most of these travelled on horseback. A few had carriages and wagons of their own. The sick, the aged, and the decrepit, who were unable to ride on horses, were carried in the public baggage wagons in a comfortable manner."

Gardiner, under date Dec. 1, 1832, writes Lewis Cass, that he has just received a letter from Col. Abert, dated at Franklin, Mo., which "gives him the gratifying intelligence that the cholera had entirely subsided among the Ohio Emigrating Indians. No new cases had occurred for the, then, last six days, and those slightly attacked were all convalescent. The Indians had crossed the Missouri at Arrow Rock ferry, and were pushing on to their destination with all possible speed." Delaware Indians from Little Sandusky, Ohio, were also removed but were only about thirty in number.

DAVID W. EATON,
Versailles, Mo.

¹. See Indian Treaties, 1778 to 1837, p. 483, Art., 12.

². Emigrant Indians, Vol. III, p. 111.

JOURNAL ACROSS MISSOURI, OF BAND OF OHIO INDIANS TO
THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

The following is an excerpt from a "Journal of occurrences kept by the conducting officer of the Seneca and Shawnee emigrating Ohio Indians to their lands west of Missouri." These Indians lived in the vicinity of Lewistown, Logan county, Ohio, and numbered 220 persons. They assembled at Lewistown on August 20, 1832 as they had been previously notified to do, and were prepared for the trip by first being vaccinated. They were also requested to choose their own method of transportation, whether by horseback, wagon or by steamboat, these being the only means of transportation then in use in this part of the country. They were to be removed to the Neosho River in the Indian Territory. They chose to travel by horseback, many of the squaws refusing to travel either by wagon or steamboat. After some delays as to making a start they finally got under way, September 19th, and the progress of the party is given day by day until its arrival at the Mississippi, after which date I will quote the Journal word for word. Upon reaching Vandalia, Ill., news was brought them that the cholera was prevalent in St. Louis, and the conductor sent a messenger to report to Governor Clark, and ask as to the truth of the information, and to get his advice as to the best route to take to reach the Indian Territory, as it had evidently been the plan to have gone via St. Louis. Clark advised crossing the river at Kaskaskia, which was on the Illinois side opposite St. Genevieve county, Missouri. They arrived at Kaskaskia on the evening of Thursday, November 6th, but the wind being strong, they did not cross. From this date the Journal was as follows:

"Wednesday, 7th (Nov.) Today about two-thirds of them were taken over, which occupied their time until dark.

"Thursday, 8th—The remaining part of the Indians were taken over to day.

"Friday, 9th—The Indians remained in camp for the purpose of getting their horses shod.

"Saturday, 10th—The Indians had considerable difficulty in finding their horses. We started late, and only travelled eight miles.

"Sunday 11th—We travelled eighteen miles.

"Monday 12th—We travelled seventeen miles.

"Tuesday 13th—We travelled four miles, one mile west of mine of Burton where we camped for the purpose of having the remainder of the horses shod.

"Wednesday 14th—We remained today for the purpose of getting horses shod, and giving the squaws an opportunity of washing their clothes and blankets.

"Thursday 15th—It was late this morning before the Indians could collect all their horses; we travelled only eight miles.

"Friday, 16th—We travelled sixteen miles to the Merimack River.

"Saturday, 17th—A family was left behind a day or two ago, which the Indians say they intend waiting for at this place.

"Sunday, 18th—Rained all day so much that the Indians would not start.

"Monday, 19th—It was so cold that the Indians refused to travel. It snowed and blew terribly.

"Tuesday, 20th—A child died this morning (the only death which has occurred in this tribe), which detained us until late. Some horses strayed away, which added to the delay. We travelled seven miles.

"Wednesday, 21st—We travelled eighteen miles.

"Thursday, 22d—It rained and snowed so much that the Indians could not travel.

"Friday, 23d—We marched fifteen miles.

"Saturday, 24th—We struck our tents at 8 o'clock, and marched until about 5. We made the distance of sixteen miles. The horses of two of the teamsters ran away, and their wagons were consequently left behind.

"Sunday, 25th—A part of the detachment travelled ten miles, and the remainder continued stationary. The wagons which were left behind yesterday arrived in the evening.

"Monday, 26th—The Indians who remained behind yesterday, waiting for the teams, joined those in front.

"Thursday, 27th—We marched ten miles.

"Wednesday, 28th—We struck our tents at 8 o'clock and continued travelling until late in the evening, by which means we made the distance of eighteen miles.

"Thursday, 29th—We travelled thirteen miles to the Gasconade.

"Friday, 30th—The Indians remained today for the purpose of waiting for some of their brethren, who are behind.

"Saturday, December 1st, 1832. Commenced raining in the night and continued all day so that the detachment could not travel.

"Sunday, 2d—We were compelled to cross the streams several times to day, which nearly swam the horses, so that we were detained along the road so much that we travelled but eight miles.

"Monday, 3d—We travelled fourteen miles. One keg of powder and one hundred pounds of lead were given to the Indians to day, by First Lieutenant Lane, upon condition that they should pay for it in game, which should be divided among all as other supplies of provision.

"Thursday, 4th—We travelled twenty miles to day. We started early and had a good road, and travelled late.

"Wednesday, 5th—We travelled thirteen miles today, which brought us to White River.

"Thursday, 6th—We remained at the encampment for the purpose of refreshing the detachment.

"Friday, 7th—About 10 o'clock we left the encampment and crossed White River, and marched nine miles beyond it, making ten miles today.

"Saturday, 8th—We travelled twelve miles to Gibson's fork of the Neosho.

"Sunday, 9th—We travelled fifteen miles..

"Monday, 10th—We travelled seven miles today. We could have gone farther, but it was necessary to halt to get corn and meat.

"Tuesday, 11th—We travelled thirteen miles.

"Wednesday, 12th—We travelled eighteen miles.

"Thursday, 13th—We travelled twelve miles to the Seneca Agency. Here the Indians were delivered to Major Kennerly, the agent for the Senecas.

(Signed) Daniel M. Workman, conductor of Lewistown Emigrating Indians.

DAVID W. EATON,
Versailles, Mo.

FAMOUS GOOSE CASE.

First Missouri Justice of the Peace to Deliver Written Opinion
—Forty Years Ago.

As far as known the first justice of the peace in Missouri to deliver a written opinion was Thomas B. Gentry, of Columbia, the father of Ex-Assistant Attorney-General N. T. Gentry. Not far from the historic Bonne Femme Baptist Church, and near the banks of a little stream, now called "Goose Creek," two women had a difficulty, which resulted in the name for the creek, a bruised head for one woman, and a criminal prosecution in the magistrate's court for the other woman. The time consumed in the trial of this little case was five days; three days in the taking of testimony, one day in argument and the justice took one day to consider the case. Six of Boone county's leading attorneys, Odon Guitar, Squire Turner, A. J. Harbinson, J. D. W. Robinson, F. F. C. Triplet and H. C. Pierce, took part in this noted trial; and a host of witnesses and many spectators thronged the old courthouse. The written opinion of Justice Gentry is as follows, and the same was read by him to the eager crowd in the court room:

"State of Missouri vs. Rachael Scott. The defendant is charged with feloniously assaulting, with a dangerous weapon, and maiming, wounding, disfiguring, causing great bodily harm and endangering the life of Sarah P. Gans, under such circumstances as would have constituted murder or man-slaughter, if death had ensued. The defendant entered a plea of not guilty; —she admits the striking but claims that it was done in the defense of her own property, to-wit two geese.

"From the evidence in this case, it appears that for some time previous to the 28th of February 1872, Mrs Rachel Scott, the defendant, and Mrs Sarah P. Gans had been living on neighboring farms South of Columbia; and that for a long time they had not been on friendly terms. On that day, Mrs Gans entered upon the premises and within the enclosure of the defendant, without permission or invitation, and began driving

four of her own and one or two of Mrs Scott's geese. The testimony also shows that the defendant warned Mrs Gans to let the geese alone, stating to her in a loud tone of voice that two of those geese belonged to her (defendant), but that Mrs. Gans continued to drive all of the geese toward the front gate, which she had previously propped open. She was in the act of driving them through said gate and onto the Columbia & Ashland gravel road, when the defendant struck her.

"I regard the entry of Mrs Gans upon the defendant's premises, under the circumstances, as a trespass; and the attempt to drive off defendant's geese, or goose, as the case may be, without permission as a still further trespass. Mrs Gans was clearly in the wrong place, where she had no right to be, and engaged in the commission of an unlawful act and must be considered a trespasser. Under these circumstances, she was assaulted by defendant with a pine stick twenty-two and one-half inches in length, one inch and a quarter in thickness and two inches wide, which stick was picked up by the defendant after she started out from her house to where Mrs Gans was driving the geese. The wounds produced by this stick upon the person of Mrs Gans were not shown to be dangerous wounds, or disfiguring wounds, and it was not shown that her life was endangered thereby. The assault made by defendant, under such circumstances, viewed in the light of human law, I regard as justifiable. The battery, however, which was proved to be considerable, and was not resisted, was perhaps excessive, and went beyond what was necessary for the defendant to make in order to keep possession of her personal property. Yet considering the results and effects of this battery, as they appear in the testimony, I cannot regard them as sufficiently great to constitute a violation of Section 33 of Chapter 42 of Criminal Code of Missouri. In other words, if the defendant had intended to kill Mrs Gans, I do not believe she would have selected this little pine stick. The offense then, in my opinion, is reduced to a simple assault and battery; which until properly charged and sworn to, I shall not feel called upon to have investigated. I therefore discharge the defendant from custody.

SOLDIERS OF WAR OF 1812.

In 1857 a petition was signed by the soldiers of the war of 1812, living in Boone county, for a pension to be granted to the serving soldiers of that war. Below are the names of those who signed it, the state where born and the age at the time of signing the petition. It does not state the regiment in which the service was performed:

John Barclay, Kentucky, 66 years.
John Barnes, Kentucky, 64 years, 8 months.
Henry Berry, Kentucky, 60 years.
Benjamin Brookshire, North Carolina, 61 years.
John Caruthers, Virginia, 64 years.
Allen Coats, North Carolina, 87 years.
Abraham Davenport, Virginia, 77 years.
John Davenport, Virginia, 64 years.
Berkley Estes, Virginia, 60 years.
James Green, Kentucky, 71 years.
John Green, Kentucky, 67 years.
Thompson Hardin, Virginia, 72 years.
Fleetwood Herndon, Virginia, 67 years, 2 months.
Greenbury Jacobs, Virginia, 73 years.
James King, Kentucky, 62 years.
Cyrus Lusk, Kentucky, 61 years, 3 months.
Hugh Melvin, Kentucky, 73 years.
Gabriel Parker, Maryland, 66 years.
Hiram Phillips, Virginia, 66 years, 6 months.
Daniel G. Searcy, Kentucky, 63 years.
Williams Simmes, Kentucky, 67 years.
Norborne B. Spottswood, Virginia, 67 years, 2 months.
Elijah Stephens, North Carolina, 75 years.
James Thomas, Virginia, 65 years, 5 months.
David Todd, Kentucky, 71 years, 6 months.
Samuel B. Todd, Kentucky, 64 years, 6 months.
Cornelius Vanansdal, Virginia, 65 years.
James Willer, Virginia, 67 years.
Isaac Williams, Pennsylvania, 66 years, 7 months.

MANUSCRIPTS SAVED.

The Third Biennial Report of the Society gave an account of the donation of a very valuable collection of manuscript made by the grandchildren of Gen. Thomas A. Smith, of Saline county. Since the donation was made to the Society the residence of Dr. George P. Smith in Saline county, where the collection was given to the Society was burned with the loss of his entire library. The General's heirs decided wisely when they gave the collection to a place of safety and permanent preservation.

ST. LOUIS NIGHTS WI' BURNS.

"Burns and Religion," by Rev. W. C. Bitting; "Burns, The World Poet," by William Marion Reedy; "Burns and English Poetry," by Professor J. L. Lowes; "Burns and the Prophet Isaiah," by Judge M. N. Sale; "Burns and the 'Auld Clay Biggin,'" by Frederick W. Lehmann; "The Club, the Room, the Burnsiana, the Nights," by Walter B. Stevens. Printed for private distribution to lovers of Burns by the Burns Club of St. Louis, 1913.

The Burns Club of St. Louis headed by W. K. Bixby, who has made himself and St. Louis known among lovers of books, and especially of privately printed books, has issued this fine little work, with excellent papers on various phases of Burns and of his works. This club has a membership of twenty-one members who have given a fine memento of their love of Burns, and the Society is under obligations to the Club for a copy.

\$50.00 REWARD.

Ran away this morning, my negro man David. He is a black man, about six feet two or three inches high, stout made fond of whiskey, getting drunk whenever he can procure it. Had on when he went off, a good hat, blue cloth coat, velvet collar, brown broad cloth pantaloons, vest, etc., not recollected. He is pretty well known about this place, and there is little doubt but he will be found lurking about H. Gratiot's or Papin's old

place. The above reward will be given to any person who will lodge him in the St. Louis gaol, or deliver him to me well pinioned and secured.

The cause of my man's running off, was a knowledge of my intention to move down to the Chickasaw purchase; together with an apprehension of being chastised for disobeying and giving me insolent and abusive language, in Col. Benton's yard, as he went off. I have owned said fellow for several years, and never molested him; nor should I have had a pretence for undertaking it when he ran off, if he had not been spirited up. He has been instigated to give me abusive language, and to leave me, by two or three persons within and about this place. I presume that the said fellow is either in this place at this time, or in its vicinity; and that he may be found in St. Louis or Papin's old house, half a dozen miles from this place, as soon as my departure is announced. I hereby forewarn all persons from employing, harboring, or affording him any protection, aid, or the like, under the penalty of the law. I will empower a man in this case, who understands and has the spirit to assert his rights. I have been told that I had a list doomed to death; this I say is not true; and that I do not owe but one or two fellows that much harm; and even them I shall not turn out of my course to find, for the poor devils will die of fear. At any rate my man David is not among the proscribed.

One hundred dollars in silver will be given to any person who will deliver him to me or my agent, at the Chickasaw Bluffs.

NATH BENTON.

N. B. No person within the Missouri territory has any authority from me, neither to sell, hire, employ or control the said negro David; and any one offending in these particulars, besides other inconveniences, will be posted for a rascal.

N. G.

—Missouri Gazette and Public Advertisers, March 29, 1820.

WISCONSIN'S LOSS.

Reuben Gold Thwaites, beyond question the most widely known secretary of any Historical Society in the United States,

the editor of the "Jesuit Relations," in more than sixty volumes, the "Early Western Travels," in thirty-two volumes, and "Lewis and Clark Travels," in fifteen volumes, died suddenly since our last issue. Dr. Frederick Jackson Turner, of Harvard University, delivered a memorial address in the Assembly Chamber of the State Capitol at Madison, Wisconsin, December 19, 1913.

BOOK NOTICES.

OLD TAVERN. Arrow Rock, Missouri. Established on Santa Fe Trail, 1830. Compiled by J. P. BIGGS, Arrow Rock, 1913.

From the portraits of the tavern given in the booklet, the present name from the sign at the door, seems to be "Old Tavern." What it originally was called is not stated, but probably it was without name, or was known as "Arrow Rock Tavern." In its continuous use, from 1830 to the present, it has had many of the prominent men of early days as guests, and in 1912 the local Women's National Old Trails Road Association fitted up a rest room in the hotel for the comfort and entertainment of the present day travelers. This room has a portrait of George C. Bingham, and lithographs of ten of Bingham's paintings. The State Historical Society ought to be able to say this about its collection, but unfortunately it cannot do it. The room has also many historic relics, which are of interest to all now passing over the old Santa Fe Trail.

The booklet gives an interesting history of the town of Arrow Rock, where Capt. Geo. Sibley built a substantial log house in 1807; the first plat of the town, then called Philadelphia was filed in 1829. Credit for the compilation and publication of the booklet is due to Mr. Biggs, cashier of the Arrow Rock Stock Bank, and it is to be hoped that many others will publish similar local memorials.

NOTES ON THE LIFE OF NOAH WEBSTER, compiled by EMILY ELLSWORTH FOWLER FORD. Edited by Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel, two volumes. New York, Privately printed, 1912.

The society is indebted for the above privately printed work to the editor, Mrs. Roswell Skeel, Jr. The principal part of the work was prepared by her mother twenty years before, and was enlarged from its original scope by the publication of the life of Webster by Horace E. Scudder in the American Men of Letters Series, which seemed to the compiler, Webster's daughter, to be very unjust and incorrect. In philology Webster began his studies in 1783, and the oldest claim of comparative philology in Europe dates from the formation of the Oriental Society in 1784, so he was the pioneer in Europe as well as in America.

Dr. Johnson wrought seven years with six amanuenses, and with a certainty of a final recompense as five firms of book-sellers agreed to take the huge scheme in hand and give Johnson £1575 for his share of the work. But Webster wrought single handed for forty-three years at the study of language, and for twenty-eight years at the making of the Dictionary, never condescending to an amanuensis until he was eighty years of age, with but few means of support outside of his own personal earnings, and but small promise of help from any source.

His was a wonderful achievement, and one that Americans ought to know and honor.

THE INJUSTICE OF HISTORY. A neglected patriot. By Companion Captain WILLIAM R. HODGES.

This paper on Thomas Paine was read before the Commandery of Missouri of the Military Order of the Loyal Region, October 4, 1913, and printed by order of the Commandery, of which the author is the secretary.

THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR. Lectures on the foundations of any mental or social science, by MAX MEYER, Professor of Experimental Psychology in the University of Missouri, Boston, Richard G. Badger, (C. 1911.)

This work is intended to describe the complete dependence of all human activity on the functional properties of the nervous system, on the changes which these functional properties undergo during life, and particularly the way in which these changes come about.

What the book proposes to do is essentially an investigation into the problem contained in the inquiry, What are the simplest assumptions, necessary and sufficient, to explain hypothetically the facts of human behavior as dependent on the function of the nervous system? Having answered this question, it attempts to illuminate the deep-rooted habit of describing human behavior as dependent on subjective states, on states of consciousness, a habit which still largely governs the sciences of human society, preventing them from throwing off the shackles of subjectivity.

The work has been adopted by Columbia University and the University of Missouri.

A SYSTEM OF PHONETICS applied to the English language for the use of singers and speakers by HOMER MOORE,

St. Louis, (C. 1913.)

The author is a teacher of speaking and of music, and quotes a sentence from Shakespeare, that should be quoted frequently to all public speakers and singers: "Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you—trippingly on the tongue; but if you mouth it, as many of our players do, I had as lief the town-crier spoke my lines."

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NANTUCKET HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION at its nineteenth annual meeting held during the past year, shows the fact that the local historical societies of the east are better supported and create more general interest than do those in the west. This Society has a present membership of 338, the total number from the start being 609. Among the manuscripts acquired during the year was a deed of manumission of Hiram Reed, a slave in St. Louis, and afterwards a resident of Nantucket. He was freed by Gen. Fremont, and the deed was signed by Fremont, September 12, 1861.

The proceedings give an account of a meeting of the Bay State Historical League of the Historical Societies of the State of Massachusetts. At the meeting there were sixty delegates from twenty historical societies of the State. The Association preserves old account books, diaries, inventories, copies of family bible records, cemetery records and other things that might have a bearing on historical or genealogical subjects.

An account is given of a visit to a little burial ground whose broken head stones were piled around the walls, but by the aid of a man to handle the stones every inscription was copied by the enterprising young lady who was looking up data.

A notice of the meeting of the American Historical Association at Boston, mentions a meeting in the hall of the Massachusetts Historical Society, a hall that was not large, but the voices of the speakers were so low and indistinct that it was difficult to understand them. The editor is sorry to say that he notices that fault at every meeting of the Association.

THE KEEPER OF THE VINEYARD. A tale of the Ozarks, by CAROLINE ABBOT STANLEY, New York, Fleming H. Revell Company, (C. 1813.)

This story of a "return to nature" lies in the Missouri Ozarks, and the events are told so naturally and true to life that the reader feels a companionship with the characters, and an interest in all the efforts of the heroine of the story in her struggle to overcome obstacles unexpectedly encountered.

Eleanor Dinwoody, a successful teacher, is suddenly confronted with the problem not only of the maintenance of her brother's family of five, but of the proper care of a girl budding into young womanhood and of a boy hardly beyond the years of infancy. The story of how she got them to Missouri and how she maintained them there, and at the same time was an almost unconscious leader in the uplift of the entire neighborhood holds the unfailing interest of the readers who are open to the appeal to men and women of like sympathy and aims and passions.

The Society is under obligations to the authoress and publisher for this addition to the Society Collection of Missouri authors, and to Mrs. Stanley for a set of her other works.

THE HUGH STEPHENS IMPRINT, Published by the Hugh Stephens Printing Co., Jefferson City, Mo.

This booklet was issued as a reminder of the good printing and illustrating work by this well known Company. It has a printing plant of a capacity of more than a half million pages of book presswork daily. Its output of commercial work and of bound books is very great; its facilities are of the best with an expanse of 24,000 square feet, and 125 workmen.

A SHEAF OF MEMORIES. Address by R. F. WALKER at a meeting of the Old Settlers Association of Morgan County, Missouri.

If all of the old settlers associations of the state would have some competent person deliver interesting addresses like the above they would perform a great benefit in preserving local history.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY and popular account of the unparalleled discoveries of T. J. J. SEE. By W. L. WEBB, Lynn, Mass., 1913.

The author shows that Prof. See has done what no one before him ever did—laid the foundations for two great physical sciences; Cosmogony, dealing with the creation of the Heavens; and Geogony, which treats of the creation of the earth. The accomplishment of this by Prof. See, while yet a young man, has placed him at the head of living natural philosophers.

Prof. See was born in Montgomery County, Missouri, February, 19, 1866, and took his first University degree in 1889. Since that time degrees and positions of honor and of learning have been held by him, and since 1903 he has been pursuing his investigations while in charge of the Naval Observatory at Mare Island, California.

The octavo work of about 300 pages, with many illustrations gives a popular account of the work that has been accomplished by Professor See, and it will furnish pleasure and information to the reader.

NECROLOGY.

MAJOR WILLIAM HENRY CURRENT died in St. Louis, August 24, 1913, and was buried by Ransom Post in the National Cemetery at Jefferson Barracks. During the civil war he was Major of the 134th Indiana Infantry, and later came to Pettis county, Missouri. He studied law with Sampson & Bro., at Sedalia and after his admission to the bar he was engaged on several newspapers, and was married there. He moved to St. Louis and for some time was connected with the office of the Metropolitan Insurance Company, and in his later years was a writer for insurance periodicals.

HON. ADOLPH E. METHUDY, member of the Senate in the Forty-fourth, Forth-fifth and Forty-sixth General Assemblies of Missouri, died at Highland, North Carolina, December 16, 1913. He was born in St. Louis in 1876, and was a graduate from Smith Academy, Manual Training School, Washington University and St. Louis Law School. On account of failing health he was compelled to withdraw from the Senate.

JUDGE LUTHER C. SLAVENS was born in Indiana seventy-seven years ago, and a graduate of De Pauw University. Soon after the civil war he came to Kansas City, and in the Republican Presidential Convention of 1880 he was one of the 306 who remained staunch for a third term for General Grant.

He served a term as circuit judge, and was city Counselor of Kansas City at the time when the city succeeded in becoming the owner of the waterworks. Judge Slavens suddenly died while sitting in a chair in a hotel in Kansas City, October 23, 1913.

HON. WESLEY A. VIA aged 71 years, a member of the Thirty-Sixth General Assembly in 1882, died December 17, 1913 at Rolla of which place he was one of the oldest residents. He served in the Confederate army under Col. Early A. Steen.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN MISSOURI
CEMETERIES.

THIRTEENTH PAPER.

The following is a partial list from the cemetery in Columbia, and is, with some exceptions, of persons who died before 1876, or of persons who died since who were more than 75 years old:

Stephen Bedford, born April 20, 1823; died Oct. 20, 1875.
Caroline L. Bedford, born Aug. 22, 1828; died April 24, 1897.
William, son of Robert S. and Mary M. Barr, born Nov. 11, 1838; died Dec. 3, 1858.
James T. Barr, died Nov. —, 1830, aged six years and seven months.
Daniel D. Barr, died Sept. —, 1831, aged one year, nine months.
Robert N. Barr, died May 10, 1837, aged three years, eleven months, fourteen days.
(Children of Robt. S. and Mary M. Barr.)
Robert Steele Barr, died Sept. 24, 1852, aged 55 years, 7 months and 15 days.
Mary M., wife of Robert S. Barr, died April 22, 1881, aged 78 years, 6 months and 13 days.
Alexander Douglass, died February 10, 1866, aged 47 years.
Albert M. Elston, died March 21, 1868, aged 29 years, 11 month and 1 day.
Sue M. Elston, wife of Albert M. Elston, died Oct. 25, 1868, aged 28 years, 1 month and 17 days.
James Ferguson, born May 15, 1812; died July 11, 1888.
Mary E. Ferguson, died Sept. 12, 1870, aged 43 years, 6 months and 7 days.
James Hickman, born June 5, 1764; died April 25, 1825.
William T. Hickman, born in Bourbon county, Kentucky, September 2, 1819; died January 31, 1897.
Sophia W. Hickman, born January 1, 1801; died April 29, 1843.
Mary F. Woods, wife of William T. Hickman, born in Boone county, Missouri, June 1, 1829; died August 23, 1905.

David H. Hickman, born November 11, 1821; died June 25, 1869.

Annie Bryan, wife of David H. Hickman, born January 28, 1839; died July 9, 1867.

Eliza K. Hickman, wife of David M. Hickman, born November 7, 1802; died June 14, 1827.

David M. Hickman, born August 10, 1788; died June 14, 1851.

Milton Hickman, son of David M. and Cornelia A. Hickman, born August 25, 1835; died August 13, 1836.

Dr. George R. Jacobs, born in Nelson county, Virginia, Feb. 20, 1802; died February 24, 1877.

Laura H. Jacobs, wife of J. T. Jacobs, and daughter of J. M. and B. M. Huston, born December 27, 1836; died August 8, 1872.

Jeremiah Orear, born July 15, 1799; died April 28, 1875.

Mary Orear, born July 4, 1796; died December 12, 1864.

Nannie L., wife of John W. Rollins, and only daughter of Richard Stowers of Kentucky, born December 17, 1827; died July 16, 1862.

Sallie Rodes, wife of A. W. Rollins, born in Madison county, Kentucky, June 7, 1787; died July 12, 1856.

Robert R. Rollins, born in Madison county Kentucky, May 7, 1818; died March 2, 1864.

Anthony W. Rollins, born in Westmorland county, Pennsylvania, March 5, 1783; died October 9, 1845.

A model citizen, an able physician, a sterling patriot, a Christian philanthropist, just and upright in all the relations of life, he commanded universal respect and died lamented by all who knew him.

Sallie W. Rollins, born February 24, 1849; died in Denver, Colorado, November 20, 1872.

James S. Rollins, born in Richmond, Madison county Kentucky, April 19, 1812; died January 9, 1888.

Mary E. Hickman Rollins, wife of James S. Rollins, born in Howard county, Missouri, October 10, 1820; died May 1, 1907.

Annie E., wife of G. W. Rogers, died Oct. 13, 1870, aged 27 years, 6 months 13 days.

James Shannon, LL. D., born in Monaghan county, Ireland April 23, 1799; died February 25, 1859.

A Christian philanthropist and teacher has gone to receive the crown of the faithful.

James Ways, son of James and Francis C. Shannon, born in Jackson, Louisiana, March 24, 1839; died July 20, 1859.

Emeline A. Staten, died January 11, 1867, aged 33 years.

Dr. Archibald Young, died February 23, 1869, aged 41 years, 4 months, 23 days.

DEATH NOTICES.

In "*Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*," published at Franklin, Howard county, Missouri, April 23, 1819, to June 16, 1826; at Fayette same county, June 29, 1826 to June 9, 1830; and Columbia, Boone county, May 4, 1830 to December 5, 1835, when the paper became the "*Columbia Patriot*."

When the deaths did not occur at the place of publication or its vicinity, the place is stated. The first date give is the date of death, and the second the date of publication.

Dr. William Baldwin. Sept. 1, 1819; Sept. 3, 1819. Of U. S. Navy.

Capt. Aaron T. Crane. Sept. 26, 1819; Oct. 15, 1819. At St. L. Ex. P. M.

Christine Wilt. Oct. 11, 1819; Oct. 15, 1819.

Peter Ferguson. Feb. 16, 1820; Feb. 18, 1820.

Henry Carroll. Feb. 28, 1820; Mch. 4, 1820. Murdered. Wm. Jucket, 6th Inf. Reg. Apr. 6, 1820; Apr. 22, 1820. At Cantonment, Missouri.

Maj. Chas. M. Phierson. June 29, 1820; July 1, 1820.

John S. Bristow. July 25, 1820; July 29, 1820. Of Ky. Col. Daniel Boone. Sept. 26, 1820; Oct. 14, 1820. At Charette village.

Geo. Holliday. Sept. 30, 1820; Oct. 14, 1820.

Miss Elizabeth Shaw. Nov. 5, 1820; Nov. 16, 1820.

Heron Corum. Oct. 26, 1820; Nov. 16, 1820.

John Short. Dec. 17, 1820; Jan. 1, 1821.
Wm. Chisham. Dec. 28, 1820; Jan. 1, 1821.
Wm. Chisham. Dec. 29, 1820; Jan. 15, 1821.
Jesse B. Boone. Dec. 22, 1820; Jan. 1, 1821. At St. Louis.
Mrs. Charlotte C. L. Riske. May 19, 1821; May 21, 1819.
Charlotte Chambers Ludlow Risk. Aug. 28, 1821.
Col. Samuel Williams, Aug. 11, 1821; Aug. 28, 1821. At Chariton Co. Member Legislature.
Dr. Chas. Kavenaugh. Aug. 27, 1821; Aug. 28, 1821.
Mrs. Elizabeth Waserman. Aug. 27, 1821; Aug. 28, 1821.
John Payne. Sept. 15, 1821; Sept. 25, 1821.
Capt. Asa Morgan. Sept. 21, 1821; Sept. 25, 1821. At Boonville.
Miss Margaret Dodd, Sept. 18, 1821; Sept. 25, 1821.
James D. Miller. Sept. 23, 1821; Sept. 25, 1821.
By lightning.
Miss Mary B. Patten. Sept. 8, 1821; Oct. 9, 1821.
Robert P. Barr. —; Oct. 9, 1821.
Robert Shaw. Nov. 12, 1821; Nov. 13, 1821.
Mrs. Martha Clark. June 21, 1822; July 2, 1822.
Andrew McClure. Aug. 8, 1822; Aug. 13, 1822.
Mrs. Nancy Mullens. Aug. 11, 1822; Aug. 13, 1822.
Jno. W. Scudder. Aug. 11, 1822; Aug. 13, 1822. In Boonville.
Dabney Carr. Aug. 6, 1822; Aug. 13, 1822.
In St. Louis.
Miss Caroline I. Barr. July 8, 1822; Aug. 13, 1822.
Capt. Baxter M. Ewing. Aug. 13, 1822; Sept. 3, 1822
In Cooper county.
Col. Elias Rector, Aug. 7, 1822; Sept. 3, 1822. In St. Louis. P. M. and State Senator.
John Gaw. Sept. 11, 1822; Sept. 17, 1822.
James Donaldson. Sept. 26, 1822; Oct. 1, 1822.
John S. Peebels. Aug. 1822; Oct. 15, 1822. At St. Francisville.
James Barnes. Oct. 13, 1822; Oct. 22, 1822.
Mrs. Cynthia Jewell. Oct. 18, 1822; Oct. 22, 1822. Wife of Dr. Wm. Jewell. At Columbia.

Armsted S. Grundy. Feb. 14, 1823; Feb. 18, 1823.
Franklin Chrissman. April 11, 1823; Apr. 15, 1823.
James Finney. Apr. 2, 1823; May 20, 1823. Of Howard county. At St. Louis.
Wm. S. Edwards. May 21, 1823; May 27, 1823. In Saline county.
Baylor Banks. July 14, 1823; July 22, 1823. Near Chariton.
J. H. Handy. Dec. 8, 1823; Dec. 23, 1823. Killed in duel at Potosi.
Henry V. Bingham. Dec. 26, 1823; Dec. 30, 1823.
Rev. Thos. Hubbard. Dec. 25, 1823; Dec. 30, 1823.
Chas. Carroll. Oct. 28, 1823; Jan. 6, 1824. At Williamsburg, N. Y. Formerly Register, Land Office, Franklin, Mo.
Daniel Chriesman and Bartlett Hall. Feb. 1, 1824; Feb. 5, 1824. Drowned below Boonville.
Dr. Jabez Hubbard. Feb. 4, 1824; Feb. 5, 1824.
Hon. John Rice Jones. Feb. 1, 1824; Feb. 14, 1824. At St. Louis. Judge Supreme Court.
Mrs. Jane Hughes. Feb. 5, 1824; Feb. 21, 1824.
James McMunn. Aug. 19, 1824; Aug. 21, 1824.
Mary Jane Todd. Aug. 24; 1824, Aug. 28, 1824.
Mrs. Mary Mahan. Aug. 30, 1824; Sept. 4, 1824.
John Shaw. Sept. 12, 1824; Sept. 18, 1824.
Cynthia Smith Berry. Oct. 4, 1824; Oct. 23, 1824.
Maj. Taylor Berry. Sept. 22, 1824; Nov. 6, 1824.
Mrs. John Shaw. Feb. 17, 1825; Mch. 1, 1825.
Peter B. Harris. May 2, 1825; May 7, 1825.
Elizabeth S. Hood. May 25, 1825; July 2, 1825.
Martha McGirk. July 8, 1825; July 16, 1825.
Frederick Bates. Aug. 4, 1825; Aug. 12, 1825. Gov. of Mo. At St. Louis.
Judge Rufus Pettibone. July 31, 1825; Aug. 12, 1825. Of Supreme Court. At St. Charles.
Matthias Haywood. Aug. 4, 1825; Aug. 12, 1825.
George McGirk. Apr. 6, 1826; Apr. 7, 1826.
Alex McNair. ——; Apr. 7, 1826. Late Governor.

Mrs. Abr. Groom. Apr. 7, 1826; Apr. 14, 1826. Clay county.

Joseph Cooley. April 3, 1826; Apr. 14, 1826. Formerly of Howard county.

Mrs. Elizabeth Monroe. Mch. 31, 1826; Apr. 14, 1826. Of Saline county.

John Munro. May 13, 1826; May 26, 1826.

Mrs. Margaret Dargen. June 21, 1826; July 13, 1826.

Robert Patrick. Aug. 13, 1826; Aug. 7, 1826.

Capt. James Hickman. Sept. 13, 1826; Sept. 21, 1826. In Boone county.

Hugh Lunard. Sept. 2, 1826; Sept. 28, 1826. In Cooper county.

Mrs. Col. Jno. M. (Eliz.) Bell. Oct. 2, 1826; Oct. 12, 1826. In Chariton county.

Mrs. David (Mary) Workman. Sept. 30, 1826; Oct. 12, 1826. At Franklin.

Jane Peebles. Oct. 1, 1826; Oct. 12, 1826. At Franklin.

Bennet H. Clark. Oct. 29, 1826; Nov. 2, 1826.

Dr. John Holman. Nov. 27, 1826; Nov. 30, 1826. In Chariton.

James Scott. Mch. 13, 1827; Mch. 15, 1827.

Miss Harriet L. Lientz. May 20, 1827; May 24, 1827.

Mrs. Eliz. Crawley. Sept. 19, 1827; Sept. 20, 1827.

Austin Martin.——; Sept. 20, 1827. Of Howard county. At Bluffton.

Mrs. Lucy Ann Green. Oct. 3, 1827; Oct. 12, 1827. At Chariton.

Mrs. Ann Williams. Oct. 10, 1827; Oct. 12, 1827. At Chariton.

William Wilson. Oct. 14, 1827; Nov. 9, 1827.

Joseph Simpson. Feb. 12, 1828; Feb. 22, 1828.

Rev. Samuel Giddings. Feb. 1828; Feb. 22, 1828. At St. Louis. By accident.

William Hughes. Jan. 10, 1828; Jan. 25, 1828.

William Witt. Dec. 25, 1827; Jan. 4, 1828. At Fayette. A Revolutionary Soldier.

Mrs. Elvira Thomson. May 29, 1828; May 30, 1828.

Maj. Daniel Ketchum. Aug. 31, 1828; Sept. 12, 1828.
At Jefferson Barracks. 6th Reg. U. S. Inf.

Samuel Shepherd. Sept. 15, 1828; Sept. 26, 1828. At
Liberty.

Capt. Christopher Burckhardt. Oct. 13, 1828; Nov. 14,
1828. In St. Louis county. Revolutionary officer.

Capt. E. B. Witt. Feb. 24, 1829; Feb. 27, 1829.

Col. Auguste Chouteau. Feb. 24, 1829; Mch. 13, 1829.
At St. Louis.

John Ferry. Apr. 1829; May 22, 1829. Near Alexandria,
Lincoln county.

Peter Bass. May 18, 1829; June 12, 1829. Of Boone
county. At Smithland, Kentucky.

Joseph Higbee. Aug. 9, 1829; Aug. 14, 1829.

Anderson Higbee. Aug. 14, 1829; Aug. 21, 1829.

Capt. John Hardeman. Recently; Oct. 2, 1829. Of
Howard county. At New Orleans.

Wm. V. Rector. Sept. 16, 1829; Oct. 23, 1829. Ex-
Auditor of Missouri. Near Little Rock, Arkansas.

Benj. Ayers. Sept. 10, 1829; Oct. 23, 1829. At St. Louis.

Mrs. Martha Reeves. Nov. 14, 1829; Nov. 20, 1829.

Mrs. Matilda Patten. Dec. 27, 1829; Jan. 1, 1830.

Mrs. Matilda Patton. Dec. 27, 1829; Jan. 8, 1830.

Mrs. Augustus H. (Mildred) Evans. Feb. 1, 1830; Feb.
12, 1830. At St. Louis.

Isaac C. McGirk. Feb. 5, 1830; Feb. 19, 1830. At St.
Louis.

Mrs. Abner (Frances) Cornelius. Mch. 18, 1830; Apr.
2, 1830.

Jacob Stuart. Apr. 8, 1830; Apr. 9, 1830. (Hanged)
Columbia.

Thos. Patton. May 17, 1830; May 22, 1830.

David Todd. June 6, 1830; June 12, 1830.

Matilda Jane Todd. June, 1830; June 12, 1830.

Mrs. Gen. W. H. (Eliza B.) Ashley. June 1, 1830; June
12, 1830. At St. Louis.

Wm. Peerce. July 25, 1830; July 31, 1830.

Charles Hardin. Aug. 20, 1830; Aug. 21, 1830.

Thos. Crosthwaite. Sept. 9, 1830; Sept. 18, 1830.

William Jones. Oct. 5, 1830; Oct. 9, 1830.
Lt. James H. Wright. Sept. 20, 1830; Oct. 16, 1830. At Jefferson Barracks.
Samuel Conway. Sept. 17, 1830; Oct. 16, 1830. In Marion county. A Revolutionary soldier.
Elvira Bibb. Nov. 23, 1830; Nov. 30, 1830.
Col. Robert P. Farris. Dec. 27, 1830; Jan. 15, 1831. At St. Louis.
Henry Reily. Dec. 24, 1830; Feb. 5, 1831. At St. Louis.
Dr. Daniel P. Wilcox. Feb. 10, 1831; Feb. 19, 1831. Representative House.
Mrs. Charity Hinch. Jan. 31, 1831; Mch. 5, 1831. In Howard county.
Mrs. Marshall B. (Mary) Smith. Aug. 9, 1831; Sept. 10, 1831.
Chas. Wahrendorff. Aug. 27, 1831; Sept. 10, 1831. At St. Louis.
Rev. James Bankson. Sept. 4, 1831; Sept. 10, 1831.
Daniel Barr. Sept. 21, 1831; Sept. 24, 1831.
Wm. Lemon. Sept. 25, 1831; Oct. 1, 1831.
Thos. Chevis. Oct. 2, 1831; Oct. 8, 1831.
Mrs. Hutchens (Mary) Barnett. Oct. 4, 1831; Oct. 8, 1831.
Stephen Hempstead. Oct. 3, 1831; Oct. 15, 1831. At St. Louis. Revolutionary soldier.
Mrs. Rev. Hoxey. Apr. 5, 1831; Apr. 7, 1832. At Fulton.
Mr. Napier. Mch. 25, 1831; Apr. 7, 1832. At Fulton.
Thos. Greenalge. May 23, 1831; June 2, 1832.
Nathaniel Ford. Recently; July 14, 1832. Sheriff Howard county. At New Orleans.
Mrs. Polly Ewing. Sept. 18, 1832; Sept. 29, 1832. In Lafayette county.
Joel L. Musick. Sept. 25, 1832; Oct. 6, 1832. Near Florissant. Represent. elect.
Maj. Jonathan Smith Findlay. Sept. 21, 1832; Nov. 1, 1832. Near Lexington.
Robert Johnston. Dec. 19, 1832; Dec. 29, 1832. At Fayette.
Jno. P. Thomas. Dec. 31, 1832; Jan. 5, 1833.
Alex. Stuart. Dec. 9, 1832; Jan. 12, 1833. Ex Speaker

House and Judge Circuit Court, St. Louis. In Staunton, Virginia.

Thos. Jefferson Miller. Jan. 15, 1833; Jan. 26, 1833. In St. Louis.

Mary Frances Cornelius. Feb. 19, 1833; Feb. 23, 1833.

Geo. D. Woods. Mch. 27, 1833; Apr. 20, 1833.

Perlina Roberts. Apr. 19, 1833; Apr. 27, 1833.

Col. Wm. McRee. May 15, 1833; May 25, 1833. At St. Louis.

Hon. Alex Buckner. June, 1833; June 29, 1833.

Mrs. Alex. Buckner. June, 1833; June 29, 1833.

Col. James McClelland. July 8, 1833; July 13, 1833.

Mrs. Wm. R. (Eliza J.) Morton. ——; Aug. 24, 1833. At Lexington.

Saml. Hall, Mrs. S. Wells, Mrs. Joseph Smith, Capt Joseph McCann, Capt. Harvey Bledsoe. Aug. 24, 1833. Above five of cholera at Fayette.

Francis W. Hawley. Aug. 9, 1833; Aug. 24, 1833. At St. Louis.

Bartholomew Walsh. ——; Aug. 24, 1833. At St. Louis.

Robert Hood. Aug. 13, 1833; Aug. 24, 1833. At Boonville.

Benj. B. Ray. Aug. 31, 1833; Sept. 7, 1833. In St. Louis County. Ex Representative.

Margaret Bass. Sept. 12, 1833; Sept. 14, 1833.

Amelia Ann. Sept. 9, 1833; Sept. 14, 1833. Sister of Charity. At St. Louis.

Jane Amanda McAfee. Oct. 23, 1833; Oct. 26, 1833.

Geo. Compton Jewell. Nov. 12, 1833; Nov. 23, 1833.

Mary Melvina Bryan. Dec. 18, 1833; Dec. 21, 1833.

Gen. Danl. Bissell. Dec. 15, 1833; Jan. 4, 1834. At St. Louis.

Rev. David M. Kirkpatrick. Jan. 12, 1834; Jan. 18, 1834.

Mrs. R. W. (Harriet Amanda) Wells. Feb. 3, 1834; Feb. 15, 1834.

Catherine Ann Mullins. Feb. 17, 1834; Feb. 22, 1834. Suicide.

Mrs. Nathan Glasgow. Mch. 6, 1834; Mch. 15, 1834.

Mrs. Andrew (Elizabeth Irvine) McGirk. Mch. 29, 1834; Apr. 19, 1834.

Col. Nicholas S. Burckhardt. June 13, 1834; June 20, 1834. In Howard county. Of cholera.

Col. Rufus Easton. July 5, 1834; July 12, 1834. At St. Charles, of Cholera.

John Mason. July 5, 1834; July 12, 1834. At St. Louis.

Capt. Thos. B. Williams. July 3, 1834; July 19, 1834. Near Richmond.

Mrs. Eliz. Williams. July 10, 1834; July 19, 1834. In Chariton county.

James M. McClelland. Aug. 10, 1834; Aug. 16, 1834; In Callaway county.

Maj. Thos. Wright. Nov. 9, 1834; Nov. 15, 1834. Near St. Louis.

Wm. G. Owens. ——; Dec. 6, 1834. Clerk Franklin Circuit Court. Shot.

Wm. C. Farrar. Feb. 20, 1835; Mch. 7, 1835. At St. Louis. By accident.

Rev. Allen McGuire. Mch. 30, 1835; Apr. 4, 1835.

Dr. Lloyd B. Giddings. Mch. 24, 1835; Apr. 4, 1835. At Fayette.

Mrs. Col. Wm. (Nancy) Boon. Mch. 22, 1835; Apr. 4, 1835. At Fayette.

Mrs. Thos. J. (Sarah) Givens. Apr. 2, 1835; Apr. 4, 1835. In Jackson county.

Mrs. Benj. H. (Patsey) Reeves. May 9, 1835; May 16, 1835. At Fayette.

Judge Thos. Shackelford. June 17, 1835; June 27, 1835. Of Saline. At St. Louis. Cholera.

Jesse Hart. Aug. 4, 1835; Aug. 8, 1835.

Gen. I. P. Owen. Aug. 26, 1835; Aug. 29, 1835. At Fayette. Shot.

Elijah Hook. ——; Sept. 5, 1835. On Steamboat Far West.

Mrs. James (Susan) Cunningham. Sept. 4, 1835; Sept. 19, 1835.

Mrs. Capt. A. W. (Matilda R.) Turner. Aug. 13, 1835; Sept. 19, 1835.

Thos. J. Givens. Sept. 9, 1835; Sept. 26, 1835. At Potosi.

Lazarus Wilcox. Oct. 23, 1835; Nov. 7, 1835.



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